a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead.

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
695] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses. As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately, thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer.

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents. Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery, his word gives authority to community gossip.

Wadátkuht

881 On the first night Gladys had to run about one-half mile at night under the new moon and repeated it the second night.

[535] There was dancing on each succeeding night, as on the first night, and Gladys had to make the usual run. She would grab the deer hoof rattle from the singer, Big Rosie George, and run with it. A group of young people, both boys and girls, would run with her, although only one or two would go some nights.

The third to sixth days and nights were essentially the same as the first two days and nights. During the night of the sixth day, however, everyone danced until dawn. Gladys then ran from Indian Heights east to a place just west of the new cemetery (which is just north of Susanville).

She then ran back to Indian Heights, but not to the dance ground as she had on the previous nights. Instead, she ran to a spring on Indian Heights where her aunt, Helen Joaquin, was waiting for her. Helen had a fire going on a red ant hill near a sagebrush plant. As Gladys came running up she jumped over the sagebrush and the fire in a single jump. The fire had been built next to the sagebrush purposely.

As soon as Gladys had jumped over the bush and the fire Helen told her to take off her clothes. As soon as this was done her aunt threw a bucket of cold water on her. Since it was in the fall of the year, and the weather cool, the water hit her as a shock. While she had been taking her clothes off Helen had put some green sagebrush on the fire, and then some water. Gladys stood upon the green brush over the fire after she had taken her clothes off, and the steam rising from the doused fire felt good to her since she was cold from having been splashed with the bucket of cold water. Her aunt threw dippers of warm water over her as she stood over the steaming fire. Sagebrush had been put into the warm water that was thrown on her. After Gladys had been bathed in the warm water she dried herself and put on clean and/or new clothes. The old clothes were left behind with a dollar in one of the pockets and Gladys never saw the old clothes again. She then went up to camp where her Aunt Helen told her what she could have for breakfast; it was bread, cereal, and coffee, but no meat. This was the end of the puberty ceremony.

[152] All during the time of her puberty ceremony Gladys felt ashamed, guilty and afraid, and was glad when it was over. On the first day she cried some but stopped when she was told